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"INTER FOLIA FRUCTUS."—*Library Motto of J. A. Garfield.*

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MAXIMS

OF

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD.

GENERAL, PATRIOTIC, POLITICAL.

COMPILED BY

WILLIAM RALSTON BALCH.

PHILADELPHIA:

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1880.

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PREFACE.

CONGRESSIONAL literature receives but little attention in this country. Too much of its bulk is but the saw-dust of debate, the dry chips that some dreary orator strikes from the block of a tiresome subject. In consequence, much that is valuable, powerful, and eloquent of national life, appearing in speeches that are the exception to the rule, is missed by the vast majority.

Thousands will probably read with surprise, not being aware of their existence, the clever, philosophical, manly and patriotic maxims that are printed in the following pages, taken entirely from the public utterances of the Republican nominee for the Presidency. It is, indeed, remarkable how thickly his speeches—which are never dry—are studded with jewels of utterance.

The compiler has made no attempt at elaborate classification. The maxims have been arranged so as to bear a certain relation of subject, and such notes as are necessary have been added. The title of "Maxims" is entirely the selection of the Compiler.

The beauty, the wit and wisdom of much that General Garfield has uttered cannot but win its way to an abiding place in the hearts of the American people, and serve to bring them into closer relation with the admirable sentiments of the man who has been nominated to the highest post of honor in this Republic.

WILLIAM RALSTON BALCH.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 25th, 1880.*

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MAXIMS OF JAMES A. GARFIELD.

MAXIMS—GENERAL.

I WOULD rather be beaten in Right than succeed in Wrong.

I FEEL a profounder reverence for a Boy than for a Man. I never meet a ragged Boy in the street without feeling that I may owe him a salute, for I know not what possibilities may be buttoned up under his coat.

LUCK is an *ignis-fatuus*. You may follow it to Ruin, but never to Success.

POVERTY is uncomfortable, as I can testify; but nine times out of ten the best thing that can happen to a young man is to be tossed overboard and compelled to sink or swim for himself. In all my acquaintance I never knew a Man to be drowned who was worth the saving.

THERE are times in the history of men and nations, when they stand so near the veil that separates Mortals and Immortals, Time from Eternity, and Men from their God, that they can almost hear their breathings and feel the pulsations of the heart of the Infinite.

—*Oration on Abraham Lincoln.*

THE source of our Sovereign's supreme danger, the point where his life is vulnerable, is at the ballot-box where his will is declared; and if he cannot stand by that cradle of our Sovereign's heir-apparent and protect it to the uttermost against all assassins and assailants, we have no Government and no Safety for the future.

For the noblest Man that lives there still remains a Conflict.

The principles of Ethics have not changed by the lapse of years.

Growth is better than Permanence, and permanent growth is better than all.

It is no honor or profit merely to appear in the arena. The Wreath is for those who contend.

We are never without a Man or a Motto to shout over.

After the battle of Arms comes the battle of History.

There is a fellowship among the Virtues by which one great, generous passion stimulates another.

The privilege of being a Young Man is a great privilege, and the privilege of growing up to be an independent Man in middle life is a greater. —*Speech at Peekskill, Aug. 4th, 1880.*

No Man can make a speech alone. It is the great human power that strikes up from a thousand minds that acts upon him and makes the speech.

We hold reunions, not for the Dead, for there is nothing in all the earth that you and I can do for the Dead. They are past our help and past our praise. We can add to them no glory, we can give to them no immortality. They do not need us, but forever and forever more we need them. —*Speech at Geneva, Aug. 3d, 1880.*

THE DOCTRINE OF CHANCE.

Nothing is more uncertain than the result of any one throw; few things more certain than the result of many throws.

If the power to do hard work is not Talent, it is the best possible substitute for it.

Occasion may be the bugle-call that summons an army to battle, but the blast of a bugle can never make Soldiers or win Victories.

Things don't turn up in this World until somebody turns them up.

We cannot study Nature profoundly without bringing ourselves into communion with the Spirit of Art, which pervades and fills the Universe.

If there be one thing upon this Earth that mankind love and admire better than another, it is a brave Man—it is a man who dares to look the Devil in the face and tell him he is a Devil.

It is one of the precious mysteries of Sorrow that it finds solace in unselfish Thought.

TRUE ART.

True art is but the anti-type of Nature—the embodiment of discovered Beauty in utility.

CHARACTER.

Every character is the joint product of Nature and Nurture.

Not a man of Iron, but of live Oak.—*Oration on Geo. H. Thomas.*

His character was as grand and simple as a colossal Pillar of chiseled Granite. —*Ibid.*

His power as a Commander was developed slowly and silently; not like a volcanic Land lifted from the Sea by sudden and violent upheaval, but rather like a Coral Island, where each Increment is a growth—an act of Life and Work. —*Ibid.*

After her return from Oberlin, she paid more attention to the Mint, Anise and Cummin of life. —*Oration on Miss Booth.*

He was one of the few great Rulers whose wisdom increased with his power, and whose spirit grew gentler and tenderer as his Triumphs were multiplied. —*Oration on Abraham Lincoln.*

The Problems to be solved in the study of human life and character are these: Given the Character of a Man and the conditions of life around him, what will be his Career? Or, given his Character and Career, of what kind were his Surroundings? The relation of these three factors to each other is severely logical. From them is deduced all genuine History. Character is the chief element, for it is both a Result and a Cause—a result of Influences and a cause of Results.

POWER.

Power exhibits itself under two distinct forms—Strength and Force—each possessing peculiar qualities and each perfect in its own sphere. Strength is typified by the Oak, the Rock, the Mountain. Force embodies itself in the Cataract, the Tempest, the Thunderbolt.

GREAT POWERS.

The possession of great Powers no doubt carries with it a contempt for mere external Show.

GREAT MEN.

As a giant Tree absorbs all the elements of growth within its reach and leaves only a sickly Vegetation in its shadow, so do towering great Men absorb all the strength and glory of their surroundings and leave a dearth of Greatness for a whole generation.

A Monopoly of popular Honors is as much of a Tyranny as a Monopoly of Wealth.

It has been fortunate that most of our greatest Men have left no descendants to shine in the borrowed lustre of a great name.

SUCCESS IN LIFE.

To a young Man who has in himself the magnificent possibilities of life it is not fitting that he should be permanently commanded; he

should be a Commander. You must not continue to be *the employed.* You must be an employer! You must be promoted from the ranks to a command. There is something, young Man, which you can command—go and find it and command it. Do not, I beseech you, be content to enter upon any Business which does not require and compel constant intellectual Growth.

In order to have any success in life, or any worthy success, you must resolve to carry into your work a fullness of Knowledge—not merely a Sufficiency, but more than a Sufficiency.

Be fit for more than the Thing you are now doing.

If you are not too large for the Place you are too small for it.

Young Men talk of trusting to the Spur of the Occasion. That trust is vain. Occasions cannot make Spurs. If you expect to wear Spurs you must win them. If you wish to use them you must buckle them to your own heels before you go into the Fight.

EDUCATION.

It is to me a perpetual wonder that any Child's love of Knowledge survives the outrages of the School-house.

That man will be a benefactor of his race who shall teach us how to manage rightly the first years of a Child's education.

One half of the time which is now almost wholly wasted, in district schools, on English grammar attempted at too early an age, would be sufficient to teach our Children to love the Republic and to become its loyal and life-long Supporters.

The old necessities have passed away. We now have strong and noble living Languages; rich in Literature, replete with high and earnest thought, the language of Science, Religion and Liberty, and yet we bid our Children feed their spirits on the life of the dead ages, instead of the inspiring life and vigor of our own times. I do not object to Classical learning—far from it—but I would not have it exclude the living present.

Greek is perhaps the most perfect instrument of Thought ever invented by Man, and its Literature has never been equaled in purity of style and boldness of expression.

THE Graduate would blush were he to mistake the place of a Greek accent, or put the ictus on the second syllable of Eolus; but the whole circle of the "*liberalium artium*," so pompously referred to in his Diploma of graduation, may not have taught him whether the *jejunum* is a bone or the *humerus* an intestine.

THE Student should study himself, his relation to Society, to Nature and to Art—and above all, in all, and though all these, he should study the relations of Himself, Society, Nature and Art to God the Author of them all.

GREAT Ideas travel slowly and for a time noiselessly, as the gods whose Feet were shod with wool.

LITERATURE.

WHAT the Arts are to the world of matter, Literature is to the world of mind.

MANY books we can read in a railroad car and feel a harmony between the rushing of the train and the haste of the Author, but to enjoy standard works we need the quiet of a winter evening—an easy chair before a cheerful fire, and all the equanimity of spirits we can command.

HE who would understand the real spirit of Literature should not select authors of any one period alone, but rather go to the fountain-head, and trace the little rill as it courses along down the ages, broadening and deepening into the great ocean of Thought which the Men of the present are exploring.

THE true literary Man is no mere gleaner, following in the rear and gathering up the fragments of the world's thought; but he goes down deep into the heart of Humanity, watches its throbbings, analyzes the forces at work there; traces out, with prophetic foresight, their tendencies, and thus, standing out far beyond his Age, holds up the picture of what it is and is to be.

IT is indeed an uninviting task to bubble up sentiment and elaborate thought in obedience to corporate laws, and not infrequently these Children of the Brain, when paraded before the proper authorities, show by their meagre proportions that they have not been nourished by the genial warmth of a willing heart.

HISTORY.

History is but the unrolled scroll of Prophecy.

The developments of statistics are causing History to be rewritten.

The world's history is a Divine Poem of which the history of every Nation is a canto and every Man a word. Its strains have been pealing along down the centuries, and though there have been mingled the discords of warring cannon and dying men, yet to the Christian, Philosopher and Historian—the humble listener—there has been a Divine melody running through the song which speaks of hope and halcyon days to come.

The lesson of History is rarely learned by the actors themselves.

Theologians in all ages have looked out admiringly upon the material universe and from its inanimate existences demonstrated the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God; but we know of no one who has demonstrated the same attributes from the History of the human race.

All along the dim centuries are gleaming lamps which mind has lighted, and these are revealing to Him (the historian) the path which Humanity has trod.

Light itself is a great corrective. A thousand wrongs and abuses that are grown in darkness disappear like owls and bats before the light of Day.

TRUTH.

Truth is so related and corelated that no department of her realm is wholly isolated.

Truth is the food of the human Spirit which could not grow in its majestic proportions without clearer and more truthful views of God and His universe.

LAW AND ORDER.

Mankind have been slow to believe that order reigns in the universe, that the world is a Cosmos, not a chaos.

The assertion of the reign of Law has been stubbornly resisted at every step. The divinities of Heathen superstition still linger in one form or another in the faith of the ignorant, and even many intelligent

Men shrink from the contemplation of one Supreme Will acting regularly, not fatuitously, through laws beautiful and simple, rather than through a fitful and capricious Providence.

FREEDOM AND LIBERTY.

LIBERTY can be safe only when Suffrage is illuminated by education.

FOR a man to feel that every impulse for laudable ambition must be strangled at its birth, that like fabled Enceladus he has been rived by the thunder-bolt of Power and crushed beneath the mountain of its strength is more than this human nature of ours can endure. What wonder then that ever and anon, when Freedom turns the weary side—the fires of devouring Vengeance burst forth and shake the fabrics of the old world, till Tyrants chatter on their gilded thrones in idiotic terror. At such moments, Freedom may seem to have triumphed there, but when the fury of the tempest is past, she lies bleeding—Samson-like—beneath the ruin she has wrought.

EQUALITY—the informing soul of Freedom!

ENGLISH liberty to-day rests not so much on the government as on those rights which the people have wrested from the government. The rights of the Englishman outnumber the rights of the Englishman's king.

POETRY is the language of Freedom.

MEMORY.

When the rough battle of the day is done
And evening's peace falls gently on my heart,
I bound away across the noisy years,
Unto the utmost verge of Memory's land,
Where earth and sky in dreamy distance meet
And Memory dim with dark oblivion joins.
Where woke the first remembered sounds that fell
Upon the ear in childhood's early morn.

—*From a Poem on Memory contributed to the Williams Quarterly.*

What poet's tuneful lyre has ever sung,
Or delicatest pencil e'er portrayed
The enchanted shadowy land where memory dwells?—*Ibid.*

The path of youth winds down through many a vale
And on the brink of many a dread abyss,
From out whose darkness comes no ray of light,
Save that a phantom dances o'er the gulf,
And beckons toward the verge. —*Ibid.*

SCIENCE.

THE scientific spirit has cast out the Demons and presented us with Nature, clothed in her right mind and living under the reign of law. It has given us for the sorceries of the Alchemist, the beautiful laws of chemistry; for the dreams of the Astrologer, the sublime truths of astronomy; for the wild visions of Cosmogony, the monumental records of geology; for the anarchy of Diabolism, the laws of God.

WE no longer attribute the untimely death of infants to the sin of Adam, but to bad nursing and ignorance.

RAILROADS.

THE American people have done much for the Locomotive, and the Locomotive has done much for them.

IMAGINE if you can what would happen if to-morrow morning the railway locomotive and its corollary, the telegraph, were blotted from the earth. To what humble proportions Mankind would be compelled to scale down the great enterprises they are now pushing forward with such ease!

THE national Constitution and the Constitutions of most of the States were formed before the locomotive existed, and, of course, no special provisions were made for its control. Are our institutions strong enough to stand the shock and strain of this new Force? I fail to believe that the genius and energy that have developed these new and tremendous forces will fail to make them not the masters, but the faithful servants of society.

THE granite Hills are not so changeless and abiding as the restless sea.

MAXIMS—PATRIOTIC.

I LOVE to believe that no heroic sacrifice is ever lost, that the characters of men are moulded and inspired by what their fathers have done; that, treasured up in American souls are all the unconscious influences of the great deeds of the Anglo-Saxon race, from Agincourt to Bunker Hill.

ETERNITY alone will reveal to the human race its debt of gratitude to the peerless and immortal name of Washington.

I DOUBT if any man equalled Samuel Adams in formulating and uttering the fierce, clear and inexorable logic of the Revolution.

THE last eight decades has witnessed an Empire spring up in the full panoply of lusty life, from a trackless wilderness.

IN their struggle with the forces of Nature, the ability to labor was the richest patrimony of the Colonist.

THE great doctrines of the Declaration germinated in the hearts of our fathers, and were developed under the new influences of this wilderness world; by the same subtle mystery which brings forth the rose from the germ of the rose-tree. Unconsciously to themselves the great Truths were growing under the new conditions, until, like the century-plant, they blossomed into the matchless beauty of the Declaration of Independence, whose fruitage increased, and increasing we enjoy to-day.

PEACE, liberty and personal security are blessings as common and universal as sunshine and showers and fruitful seasons; and all sprang from a single source—the principle declared in the Pilgrim covenant of 1620—that all owed due submission and obedience to the lawfully

expressed will of the Majority. This is not one of the doctrines of our political system, it is the System itself. It is in our political firmament, in which all other truths are set, as stars in heaven. It is the encasing air, the breath of the Nation's life.

We should do nothing inconsistent with the spirit and genius of our Institutions. We should do nothing for revenge, but everything for security: nothing for the past; everything for the present and the future.

Shall we regard with indifference the great inheritance which cost our sires their blood because we find in their gift an admixture of imperfection and evil? Surely there is Good enough, in the contemplation of which every patriotic heart may say, "God bless my own, my native Land."

Throughout the whole web of National existence we trace the golden thread of human progress toward a higher and better estate.

Heroes did not *make* our liberties, they but reflected and illustrated them.

To all our means of culture is added that powerful incentive to personal ambition which springs from the genius of our Government. The pathway to honorable distinction lies open to all. No post of honor so high but the poorest Boy may hope to reach it. It is the pride of every American, that many cherished names, at whose mention our hearts beat with a quicker bound, were worn by the sons of poverty, who conquered obscurity and became fixed stars in our firmament.

Individuals may wear for a time the glory of our institutions, but they carry it not to the grave with them. Like rain-drops from Heaven, they may pass through the circle of the shining bow and add to its lustre, but when they have sunk in the Earth again, the proud arch still spans the sky and shines gloriously on.

The best thing in Patterson, and the best thing in this Republic next to Liberty, is the Labor of our People.

—*Speech at Patterson, Aug. 7th, 1880.*

I would rather be defeated than make Capital out of my Religion.

—*Remark at Chatauqua, Aug. 8th, 1880.*

It is well to know the history of those magnificent nations whose origin is lost in fable, and whose epitaphs were written a thousand

years ago—but if we cannot know both, it is far better to study the history of our own Nation, whose origin we can trace to the freest and noblest aspirations of the human heart.

THE Life and Light of a nation are inseparable.

AFTER all territory is but the body of a nation. The people who inhabit its hills and valleys are its soul, its spirit, its life. In them dwells its hope of immortality. Among them, if anywhere, are to be found its chief elements of destruction.

WE confront the dangers of Suffrage by the blessings of universal education.

THERE are two classes of forces whose action and reaction determine the condition of a nation—the forces of Repression and Expression. The one acts from without, limits, curbs, restrains. The other acts from within; expands, enlarges, propels. Constitutional forms, statutory limitations, conservative customs, belong to the first. The free play of individual life, opinion and action, belong to the second. If these forces be happily balanced, if there be a wise conservation and corelation of both, a nation may enjoy the double blessing of progress and permanence.

IT matters little what may be the forms of National institutions, if the life, freedom and growth of society are secured.

THERE is no horizontal Stratification of society in this country like the rocks in the earth, that hold one class down below forevermore, and let another come to the surface to stay there forever. Our Stratification is like the ocean, where every individual drop is free to move, and where from the sternest depths of the mighty deep any drop may come up to glitter on the highest wave that rolls.

THE Union and the Congress must share the same fate. They must rise or fall together.

WE should enlist both the pride and the selfishness of the people on the side of good order and peace.

WE legislate for the people of the United States, not for the whole world; and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor.

THERE is deep down in the hearts of the American people a strong and abiding love of our Country which no surface storms of passion can ever shake.

THE intelligence and national spirit of our People exhibit their capacity for dealing with difficult problems. Those who saw the terrible elements of destruction that burst upon us twelve years ago in the fury of the Civil War would have been called dreamers and enthusiasts had they predicted that 1873 would witness the conflict ended, its cause annihilated, the bitterness and hatred it occasioned nearly gone, and the Nation with union and unity restored, smiling again over half a million soldiers' graves.

THE Atlantic is still the great historic sea. Even in its sunken wrecks might be read the record of modern nations. Who shall say that the Pacific will not yet become the great historic sea of the future —the vast amphitheatre around which shall sit in majesty and power the two Americas, Asia, Africa and the chief colonies of Europe. God forbid that the waters of our National life should ever settle to the dead level of a waveless calm. It would be the stagnation of death, the ocean grave of individual liberty.

I LOOK forward with joy and hope to the day when our brave People, one in heart, one in their aspirations for freedom and peace, shall see that the darkness through which we have traveled was but a part of that stern but beneficent discipline by which the great Disposer of events has been leading us on to a higher and nobler national life.

THE hope of our National perpetuity rests upon that perfect individual Freedom which shall forever keep up the circuit of perpetual change.

FINALLY our great hope for the Future—our great safeguard against danger—is to be found in the general and thorough education of our people and in the virtue which accompanies such education.

MAXIMS—POLITICAL.

The germ of our political institutions, the primary cell from which they were evolved was in the New England town, and the vital force, the informing soul of the town, was the Town Meeting, which for all local concerns was king, lords and commons in all.

In a word our National safety demands that the fountains of political power shall be made pure by Intelligence and kept pure by Vigilance.

It is as much the duty of all good men to protect and defend the reputation of worthy public Servants as to detect public rascals.

The prosperity which is made possible in the South, by its great advantages of soil and climate, will never be realized until every voter can freely and safely support any party he pleases.

PARTIES.

Political parties like poets are born not made. No act of political mechanics however wise can manufacture to order and make a platform and put a party on it which will live and flourish.

The Flowers that bloom over the garden wall of party politics are the sweetest and most fragrant that bloom in the gardens of this world.

WHATEVER opinions we may now entertain of the Federalists as a party it is unquestionably true that we are indebted to them for the strong points of the Constitution and for the stable government they founded and strengthened during the administration of Washington and Adams.

WHILE it is true that no party can stand upon its past record alone, yet it is also true that its past shows the spirit and character of the organization, and enables us to judge what it will probably do in the future.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago this republic was wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with traffic in the bodies and souls of men had paralyzed the consciences of a majority of our people. The doctrine of State Sovereignty had shocked and weakened the nobler and most beneficent powers of the National Government, and the grasping power of slavery was seizing the original territories of the West and dragging them into the den of eternal bondage. At that crisis the Republican Party was born. It drew its first inspiration from the fire of liberty which God has lighted in every man's heart, and which all the powers of ignorance and tyranny can never wholly extinguish. The Republican Party came to deliver and save the republic. It entered the arena when the beleagured and assailed territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty, which the demon of slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free forever. —*Speech nominating Sherman.*

THE Republican Party gave to the country a currency as National as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the people. —*Ibid.*

It confronted a rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of liberty.—*Ibid.*

THIS coming fight is our Thermopylæ. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are united we can withstand all the Persians that the Xerxes of the Democracy can bring against us. Let us hold our ground this one year, for the stars in their courses fight for us in the future. —*Ibid.*

THE Republicans insist that the United States is a nation with ample power of self-preservation ; that its Constitution, and laws made in

pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land, that the right of the nation to determine the method by which its own legislature shall be created cannot be surrendered without abdicating one of the fundamental powers of the Government; that the national laws relating to the election of representatives in Congress shall never be violated nor evaded, that every elector shall be permitted freely and without intimidation to cast his lawful ballot at such election and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person.—*Letter of Acceptance.*

ANOTHER thing we will remember, we will remember our allies who fought with us. Soon after the great struggle began, we looked behind the army of white rebels and saw 4,000,000 of black people condemned to toil as slaves for our enemies; and we found that the hearts of these 4,000,000 were God-inspired with the spirit of liberty and that they were our friends. We have seen white men betray the flag, but in all that long, dreary war we never saw a traitor in a black skin. Our prisoners escaping from the starvation of prisons, fleeing to our lines by the light of the North Star, never feared to enter the black man's cabin and ask for bread. In all that period of suffering and danger no Union soldier was ever betrayed by a black man or woman. And now that we have made them free, so long as we live we will stand by these black allies. We will stand by them until the sun of liberty, fixed in the firmament of our Constitution, shall shine with equal ray upon every man, black or white, throughout the Union. —*Speech in New York, Aug. 6, 1880.*

THE Democratic and Republican parties are examples of a genuine and natural method of organizing political parties. The Democratic party in its earlier and better days represented the genuine aspirations and grand ideas of the American people, and no man can say it was ever manufactured at any particular time by any particular set of men. The Republican party also was a growth springing from the hostility of the American people to Slavery, and they rallied around that central idea, an idea broad enough to reach all the ramification of our whole institutions.

THE DEMOCRACY.

THE Democratic party nowhere raises any great political questions, they only want to get into power.—*Campaign Speech in 1873.*

I AFFIRM, and I believe I do not misrepresent the great Democratic party, that in the last sixteen years they have not advanced one great national idea that is not to-day exploded and as dead as Julius Cæsar.

EVERY triumph that the Republican party has achieved in the last twelve years has been grumblingly and hesitatingly adopted by the Democratic party about five years after it was done. There is not an element of power, of strength, of manhood or decency in that party to-day that they did not borrow from us.—*Campaign Speech, 1871.*

OFTEN the blunders and faults of the Republican party have been condoned by the people because of the violent reactionary and disloyal spirit of the Democracy.

THE reason there is no great political conflict this fall is because each party is firing at a mark, each in its own way—the Democratic party firing to the rear; the Republican party to the front.

—*Campaign Speech, 1873.*

IN short, the Democratic party has sounded the recall, has returned from its departure, has re-crossed the river, has burned the bridges it constructed last year, and has encamped again in the graveyard of the past. The tramp of its footstep echoes hollow from the dead beneath. —*Ibid.*

I WALK across that Democratic camping-ground as in a graveyard. Under my feet resound the hollow echoes of the dead. There lies Slavery, a black marble column at the head of its grave, on which I read: "Died in the flames of civil war; loved in its life; lamented at its death; followed to its bier by its only mourner, the Democratic party, but dead." And here is a double grave: "Sacred to the memory of Squatter Sovereignty. Died in the campaign of 1860. On the reverse side: "Sacred to the memory of the Dred Scott-Breckinridge doctrine. Both dead at the hands of Abraham Lincoln." And here is a monument of brimstone: "Sacred to the memory of the Rebellion; the war against it a failure; *Tilden et Vallandigham fecerunt, A. D.* 1864. Died on the field of battle; shot to death by the million guns of the Republic." The doctrine of Secession, of State Sovereignty, dead. Expired in the flames of civil war amid the blazing rafters of the Confederacy, except that the modern Æneas, fleeing out of the flames of that ruin, bears on his back another Anchises of State Sovereignty, and brings it here in the person of the honorable gentleman from Virginia. All else is dead.

—*Speech in Congress, 1876.*

PARTIES have an organic life and spirit of their own—an individuality and character which outlive the men who compose them; and the spirit and traditions of a party should be considered in determining their fitness for managing the affairs of the nation. —*Ibid.*

OVER this vast horizon of interests, North and South, above all party prejudices and personal wrong-doing, above our battle hosts and our victorious cause, above all that we hoped for and won, or you hoped for and lost, is the grand onward movement of the Republic to perpetuate its glory, to save Liberty alive, to preserve exact and equal justice to all, to protect and foster all these priceless principles until they shall have crystallized into the form of enduring law and become inwrought into the life and habits of our People.

AND until these great results are accomplished it is not safe to take one step backward. It is still more unsafe to trust interests of such measureless value in the hands of an organization whose members have never comprehended their epoch, have never been in sympathy with its great movements, who have resisted every step of its progress, and whose principal function has been

To lie in cold obstruction

across the pathway of the Nation.—*Ibid.*

'Twas noon of night, and by his flickering lamp,
That gloated o'er his dingy room and damp,
With glassy eye and haggard face there sat
A disappointed, worn-out Democrat;
His eloquence all wasted—plans all failed,
His spurious coin fast to the counter nailed,
Deception's self is now at length deceived,
His lies political no more believed.

—*From a Poem in the Williams' Quarterly.*

CONGRESS.

IT is a safe and wise rule to follow in all legislation that whatever the people can do without legislation will be better done than by the intervention of the State and Nation.

CONGRESS has always been and must always be the theatre of contending opinions; the forum, where the opposing forces of political philosophy meet to measure their strength; where the public good must meet the assaults of local and sectional interests; in a word, the appointed place where the Nation seeks to utter its thought and register its will.

CONGRESS must always be the exponent of the political character and culture of the people, and if the next centennial does not find us a great Nation with a great and worthy Congress, it will be because those who represent the enterprise, the culture and the morality of the Nation do not aid in controlling the political forces, which are employed to select the Men who shall occupy the great places of trust and power.—*From a Century in Congress, in the Atlantic Monthly, August, 1876.*

I ADMIT most freely that Congress may regulate the act of opening the certificates and may regulate the work of counting, but it cannot push its power to regulate beyond the meaning of the words that describe the thing to be done. It cannot ingraft a Judiciary system upon the word "Open." It cannot evolve a Court-martial from the word "Count." It cannot erect a Star-chamber upon either or both of these words. It cannot plant the seeds of Despotism between the lines or words of the Constitution.—*Speech on Counting the Electoral Vote.*

DURING the many calm years of the century, our pilots have grown careless of the course. The master of a vessel sailing down Lake Ontario, has the whole breadth of that beautiful inland sea for his pathway. But when his ship arrives at the *chute* of the Lachine, there is but one pathway of safety. With a steady hand, a clear eye and a brave heart, he points his prow to the well-fixed landmarks on the shore, and with death on either hand, makes the plunge and shoots the rapids in safety. We too are approaching the narrows, and we hear the roar of the angry waters below and the muttering of the sullen thunder overhead. Unterrified by breakers or tempest, let us steer our course by the Constitution of our Fathers, and we shall neither sink in the rapids, nor compel our children to shoot Niagara and perish in the whirlpool. —*Ibid.*

WHEN you tell me that civil war is threatened by any party or State in this Republic, you have given me a supreme reason why an American Congress should refuse with unutterable scorn, to listen to those who threaten or do any act whatever under the coercion of threats by any power on earth. With all my soul I despise your threat of civil war, come from what quarter or party it may. Brave men, certainly a brave nation, will do nothing under compulsion. We are entrusted with the work of obeying and defending the Constitution. I will not be deterred from obeying it because somebody threatens to destroy it. I dismiss all that class of motives as unworthy of Americans. —*Ibid.*

GOVERNMENT.

A government made for the kingdom of Lilliput might fail to handle the forces of Brobdignag.

A government is an artificial giant, and the power that moves it is Money—money raised by taxation and distributed to the various parts of the body politic, according to the discretion of the Legislative power.

We are accustomed to hear it said that the great powers of government in this country are divided into two classes; National powers and State powers. That is an incomplete classification. Our Fathers carefully divided all governmental powers into three classes; one they gave to the States, another to the Nation; but the third great class, comprising the most precious of all powers, they refused to confer on the State or Nation, but reserved to themselves. This third class of powers has been almost uniformly overlooked by men who have written and discussed the American system.

REVENUE.

Revenue is not the friction of a government, but rather its motive power.

The expenditure of revenue forms the grand level from which all heights and depths of Legislative action are measured.

There is scarcely a conceivable form of corruption or public wrong that does not at last present itself at the cashier's desk and demand money. The Legislature, therefore, that stands at the cashier's desk and watches with its Argus eyes the demands for payment over the counter is most certain to see all the forms of public rascality.

A steady and constant Revenue drawn from sources that represent the prosperity of the nation—a Revenue that grows with the growth of national wealth and is so adjusted to the expenditures that a constant and considerable surplus is annually left in the Treasury above all the necessary current demands, a surplus that keeps the Treasury strong, that holds it above the fear of sudden panic, that makes it impregnable against all private combinations, that makes it a terror to all stock jobbing and gold gambling—this is financial health.

FINANCE AND THE PUBLIC CREDIT.

An uncertain currency that goes up and down, hits the Laborer, and hits him hard. It helps him last and hurts him first.

That man makes a vital mistake who judges truth in relation to financial affairs from the changing phases of public opinion. He might as well stand on the shore of the Bay of Fundy, and from the ebb and flow of a single tide attempt to determine the general level of the sea, as to stand upon this floor, and from the current of public opinion on any one debate, judge of the general level of the public mind. It is only when long spaces along the shore of the sea are taken into account that the grand level is found from which the heights and depths are measured. And it is only when long spaces of time are considered that we find at last that level of public opinion which we call the general judgment of mankind.

An uncertain and fluctuating standard is an evil whose magnitude is too vast for measurement.

The Gold Exchange and the Gold Clearing-House, of New York, will be remembered in history as the Germans remember the robber castles of the Rhine, whence brigand chiefs levied black-mail upon every passer-by.

Successful resumption will greatly aid in bringing into the murky sky of our politics, what the Signal Service people call "clearing weather."

Bad faith on the part of an individual, a city, or even a State, is a small evil in comparison with the calamities which follow bad faith on the part of a sovereign government.

In the complex and delicately-adjusted relations of modern Society, confidence in promises lawfully made is the life-blood of trade and commerce. It is the vital air Labor breathes. It is the light which shines on the pathway of prosperity.

An act of bad faith on the part of a State or municipal corporation, like poison in the blood, will transmit its curse to succeeding generations.

We are bound by three great reasons to maintain the resumption of specie payments: First, because the sanctity of the public faith requires it; second, because the material prosperity of the country

demands it; and third, because our future prosperity insists that agitation shall cease, and that the Country shall find a safe and permanent basis of financial peace.

THE men of 1862 knew the dangers from sad experience in our history; and, like Ulysses, lashed themselves to the mast of public credit when they embarked upon the stormy and boisterous sea of inflated paper money, that they might not be beguiled by the siren-song that would be sung to them when they were afloat on the wild waves.

LET the wild swarm of financial literature that has sprung into life within the last twelve years witness how widely and how far we have drifted. We have lost our old moorings, have thrown overboard our old compass; we sail by alien stars looking not for the haven, but are afloat on a harborless sea.

LET us have equality of dollars before the law, so that the trinity of our political creed shall be equal States, equal Men and equal Dollars throughout the Union. When these three are realized we shall have achieved the complete pacification of our country.

STATESMANSHIP.

SATESMANSHIP consists rather in removing causes than in punishing or evading results. Statistical science is indispensable to modern statesmanship. In Legislation as in physical science, it is beginning to be understood that we can control terrestrial forces only by obeying their laws. The legislator must formulate in his statutes not only the National will, but also those great laws of social life revealed by statistics.

STATES RIGHTS.

No more beautiful thought was embodied in the structure of our Republic than this: that our Fathers did so distribute the powers of government that no one power should be able to swallow, absorb or destroy the others.

WHEN States Rights run mad, put on the form of Secession and attempted to drag the states out of the Union we saw the grand lesson taught in all the battles of the late war that a state could no more be hurled from the Union without ruin to the nation than could a planet be thrown from its orbit without dragging after it to chaos and ruin the whole solar universe

NOTHING more aptly describes the character of our Republic than the solar system, launched into space by the hand of the Creator where the central sun is the great power around which revolve all the planets in their appointed orbits. But while the sun holds in the grasp of its attractive power the whole system and imparts its light and heat to all, yet each individual planet is under the sway of laws peculiar to itself

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COERCION is the basis of every law in the universe—Human or Divine. A law is no law without coercion behind it.

WE shall never know why Slavery dies so hard in this Republic and in this hall until we know why sin is long-lived and Satan is immortal.
—*Speech in Congress in 1863.*

SECESSION is the Tocsin of eternal war.

WAR.

THE reply to war is not Words but Swords.

BATTLES are never the end of war; for the Dead must be buried and the cost of the Conflict must be paid.

IDEAS are the great warriors of the world, and a war that has no ideas behind it is simply brutality.

To him a Battle was neither an earthquake, nor a volcano, nor a chaos of brave men and frantic horses involved in vast explosions of gunpowder. It was rather a calm rational combination of Force against Force. —*Oration on Geo. H. Thomas.*

AFTER the fire and blood of the battle-fields have disappeared, nowhere does War show its destroying power so certainly and so relentlessly as in the columns which represent the taxes and expenditures of the nation.

THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

If silence is ever golden, it must be here, beside the graves of fifteen thousand men, whose lives were more significant than speech, and whose Death was a poem, the music of which can never be sung.

—*Decoration Day Oration, 1868*

It will not do to speak of the gigantic revolution through which we have lately passed as a thing to be adjusted and settled by a change in administration. It was cyclical, epochal, century-wide, and to be studied in its broad and grand perspective, a revolution of even wider scope, so far as time is concerned, than the Revolution of 1776.

In such a revolution, men are like insects, that fret and toss in the storm, but are swept onward by the resistless movements of elements beyond their control.

I speak of this revolution not to praise the men who aided it, or to censure the men who resisted it, but as a Force to be studied, as a Mandate to be obeyed.

Those who carried the war for the Union and equal and universal Freedom to a victorious issue, can never safely relax their vigilance until the ideas for which they fought have become embodied in the enduring forms of Individual and National life.

Peace from the shock of battle, the higher Peace of our streets, our homes, of our equal rights we must secure by making the conquering ideas of the War everywhere dominant and permanent.

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I will pick up a few straws here and there over the broad field and will ask you a few moments to look at them.

—*Speech at Cleveland, October 11, 1879.*